

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

POLITICAL affairs are just now getting a great deal of the earnest attention of the politicians, who are beginning to be busier with schemes and combinations than it is probable they have been since 1860. In 1864, it was too plain for serious doubt that, if the Republicans were to do anything, they must renominate Lincoln; and in 1868, it was as little doubtful that they must nominate Grant; but that there are any such certainties now would not be said by any one, or rather, it is said by some few with an uneasy frequency, which tells as well as the silence of the rest how dubious and confused the political prospect at present is. Senator Morton, whom one would think not the safest of friends for a Western man with aspirations for the presidency, has spoken out the plainest, and he says that General Grant is to be renominated and re-elected, and that in the next presidential campaign the Republicans must make the fight on the old issues. Happening to meet the President at Indianapolis, he found there assembled a large number of his fellow-citizens, "as unexpectedly to himself as to the President of the United States." He then proceeded at some length to give his views of the political situation. The Republican party, he said, could not afford to run off upon any one issue to the abandonment of others; it was national, and its policy must embrace the good of the whole country; it could not afford to make a distinct issue on the tariff, civil service reform, or any other individual measure; it must take its stand on these assertions: the Democrats, if they return to power, will either take away the pensions of loyal soldiers, or else will pension Confederate soldiers also; will, when they have a majority in Congress, quietly allow the Southern States to secede in peace; will tax national bonds and unsettle everything generally. The next Republican candidate must, then, declare that Mr. Boutwell's policy, as Secretary of the Treasury, has been for the best interests of the country, inasmuch as it has already paid one-twelfth of the national debt; that the Ku-klux act, so-called, is constitutional and necessary; and that the United States Government must enforce the observance of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which everywhere in the South the Democrats disregard. This platform the newspapers represent the audience as receiving with applause, and President Grant was received, they say, with enthusiasm. Later, the President went to Lafayette, Indiana, and was welcomed by a convention of Odd Fellows, as they are called, and on this occasion the speech was made by Mr. Colfax. So Grant, not, it must be confessed, in the most dignified of ways, offers himself for a renomination.

But whether he is to get it, and what will be the platform on which he will be placed, seem to be questions that trouble the people at large as little as possible. Indeed, a pessimist, or an American newly arrived from Paris—in May, 1870—or the butler and upper-servants generally of the English Joint Commissioners, or, indeed, a better and wiser person than any of these, might almost be excused for falling into despondency in view of the apparent carelessness or apathy with which the political situation is regarded by the average American. Considering what are the condition and prospects of the Republican party in the Southern States, and what the likelihood of its carrying any two of them; considering the result of the New Hampshire and Connecticut elections, and that by way of replying to them and preventing a like result in Pennsylvania, we have the appointment of Colonel J. W. Forney as Collector at Philadelphia; considering the party's condition in this State; considering the latest action of the Supreme Court, which once was called the most dignified tribunal in the world; considering, also, the fact that we the other day changed our form of government, giving the President dictatorial powers because of Southern disorders of which General Sherman says: "I have probably as good means of information as most persons in regard to what is called the Ku-klux, and am perfectly satisfied that the thing is

greatly overestimated;" considering that, as time wears away, and the cotton crop of the South each year exceeds that of the year before and that of old times, "the Negro" gradually fades into dimmer distance, while our taxes we have with us always, and like them none the better for being imposed by philanthropic men who are not great in finance; considering the size and persistency of the Free Trade and Protectionist quarrel, and the possibility that the Democrats may contrive to learn an open lesson of easy wisdom; considering all this, it seems a thing to be desired that the cooler Republican voter should bethink himself of some way to make his party leaders respect the forms of law and the sense of the country, or, failing that, should fall into despair. On the contrary, he troubles himself with neither, but goes on with his business and his money-making, thinking to himself—and not taking pains to tell Mr. Morton either—that when things get a little too bad, he will take hold and set them straight somehow.

That this point is in the immediate future, we ought, one would say, if he lives in this city, to be about this time beginning to think. Especially ought he, if he happens to be a seemly and virtuous member of the New York city press. The late Legislature passed—without reading it (though, to be sure, that would have made no difference)—a bill which now awaits Governor Hoffman's signature, and which, if he signs it, will sensibly abate that vigor of denunciation with which some of us have been treating Judge Barnard, Judge Cardozo, "The Boss," Mr. Sweeny, and others of our protectors. If not, it will probably cause us to spend our July and August vacation kicking our heels in the Ludlow Street jail, while the objects of our vituperation are lying-to off the Isles of Shoals, telling each other little stories, and drinking mixed drinks with ice in them. This law that is to be repeals the existing statutes providing punishments for contempt of court, and restores the common-law rules, which leave the judge much latitude—in fact, leave the offender very much at the judge's mercy. The punishment is to be "in the discretion of the court," and the proceedings are to be conducted "in such manner as the court may direct." So you print your vigorous editorial article relative to Judge Barnard's ruling in yesterday's injunction suit, and by the next morning you have been sent before a referee connected with that magistrate by blood or by affinity, and find yourself condemned to three months in jail, or mulcted in a fine that takes half your year's income. Furthermore, the Supreme Court—Barnard and Cardozo's—is granted the power to remove from the Superior Court and the Common Pleas any suit pending in either. This latter provision is in the interest of Fisk and the Erie gang, and the former is intended for the refractory journalists who may pluck up a spirit to characterize truthfully the performances of these men and their judicial and legal associates. Perhaps respect for public opinion may be at the origin of this new law, for of the men concerned in the recent degradation of our bench and bar some have a respect for public opinion, or at least feel some shame in public disgrace. But we need not gratulate each other too much on this tribute to decency. Jonathan Wild was not more easily superior to soft considerations of that kind than most of these gentlemen. As well accuse a one-armed man of clapping his hands. Indeed, the second part of the enactment, a triumph of insolence, which ostentatiously gives Barnard the right to do all Fisk and Gould's trying for them, is confutation enough of the notion that it is with hard words they are to be stopped.

A brief announcement was made in the *Tribune* of Monday of the purpose of the New York Republican State Committee to reorganize the party in this city and county, and that Messrs. Jackson S. Schultz and William Orton had undertaken to conduct the work. This was followed on Tuesday by a long communication in the same paper from Mr. Sinclair Tousey and three other officers of the Union Republican General Committee, protesting against such a reorganization on the ground that the petition for it came from professional bolters and disorganizers, and was composed "in the main, of counterfeit, spurious, and manufactured names," only 4,286 out of 10,000

turning out to be genuine, and of these, but 1,870 to stand for Republicans. The General Committee also deny the authority of the State Committee to interfere with them in the manner proposed, or that the party here is in any degree the tool of Tammany; and they seem to charge upon the State Committee the odium of the removal of Messrs. Grinnell and Palmer, which was not effected without the aid of Democratic votes in the Senate. We do not intend entering into the merits of this quarrel, on each side of which are men whom we respect; but we are firmly of the opinion that the present condition of the Republican party here is such as to call for some sort of reorganization and resurrection, if it is to be of use to anybody but those who from time to time are its managers. And it is certain that before any overtures can in decency be made to the German voters to come into the Republican fold, it should be thoroughly purged of even the suspicion of complicity or understanding with Tammany. On this field, at least, distinctions of friend and foe based on party names are simply delusive. The men who don't steal and won't steal, who aren't sold and who can't be sold, may pass in New York for Republicans. None others should be admitted or tolerated.

The Milwaukee *Herold*, a German paper, makes a forcible appeal to the Germans of this city to join in putting an end to the rule of Tweed and Sweeny, not only for local reasons, but as an act of patriotism. It says, what is the sober truth, that the gang which, having its seat here, now controls the entire State, is disposing of its plunder with a view to carrying the next Presidential election, sure of the support of all similar rings to which its example has given rise, or, as is very likely in the case of Pennsylvania, of which it is the immediate accomplice. The Germans of New York, therefore, in doing their duty by their own State, will be aiming a blow at corruption in all parts of the country. Their conduct, moreover, will inspire, as nothing else can, the German voters everywhere to throw off the apathy they have heretofore shown, and take their rightful share of political influence. The regeneration of Germany, says the *Herold*, has made the present time auspicious for such a movement. It has rendered the German-Americans conscious of their strength, and it clearly imposes on those in this city the duty of leadership. The visible achievement at Sedan was, in fact, as we have often pointed out, but a small part of that great victory; and the Germans who marched in procession the other day can prove it, if they choose, in the political field to which they are summoned to meet a subtler form of Cæsarism than that just overthrown in France.

There may have been a leakage at the White House, as some have said, and the final result of the labors of the Joint Commissioners may have got out in spite of the thoroughness with which the Commissioners themselves have kept their secrets, and baffled the Washington correspondent—a gentleman who appears dazed at the way in which, for once in his life, he has been treated, and whose lack of “enterprise,” under the eyes of foreigners too, is little calculated to impress De Grey with the superiority of our journalism to that practised in his own land. He says, in the *Herald*, that “there is something remarkable” in the anxiety manifested by De Grey lest some morning he should wake up and find in the *Herald* the treaty published in full, and tells us that that nobleman has sent to his Government a telegram in which “the noble Earl advises that no faith should be placed in these newspaper accounts of what the Commission has done, for the reason that they are unofficial, and hence, according to the British view, irresponsible.” Schenck is not as bad as that, but still, very little can be got out of him, and in fact all the American Commissioners display singular “reticence towards all outsiders, especially newspaper men.” What to make of it is evidently too much for him. Nevertheless, a good deal has leaked out, and he is able to give us a synopsis of the treaty, for which he seems inclined to predict the fate that befell the instrument drawn up by Reverdy Johnson and Lord Clarendon. Two boards of audit and arbitration are to be appointed, one of which shall settle on the amount of the claims of Americans upon England for losses caused by the *Alabama* and other cruisers, and the other of which shall settle on the amount of the claims of

Englishmen for all losses, except in slave property, sustained by them at the hands of the United States Government. It is calculated, he says, that the claims of the English will come up to something like 75,000,000 or 100,000,000 dollars, and that as the *Alabama* claims are computed at about 15,000,000 dollars, it is regarded as singularly unfortunate that the Commission had put the two things together and had settled upon the rules of law and evidence which should govern the arbitrators. Next the treaty stipulates that neither we nor the English shall build or fit out ships for privateering, or permit them to be built. As for the Canada inland waters, we are to use them freely, except as regards the regular tolls. The Canadian fisheries our informant is rather hazy about. American fishermen are to be “allowed to fish from headland to headland,” and may cure their fish on Canadian soil on payment of a certain fee to Canadian authorities. The San Juan boundary question goes to arbitrators, and in all the boards two members are to be British, two American, and the fifth an umpire appointed by a neutral monarch, of name as yet unknown.

Judge Hoar was jubilant, on the eve of his departure, over the result of the Commission's labors; Schenck said to a senator, “You will like what we have done.” Judge Nelson and all his brother Democrats in the Senate would give it a hearty support; Secretary Fish thinks it will go through the Senate easily, and that it is advantageous to this country. But the era of good feeling “is not yet;” much comment is excited in Administrative circles because of the rumor on the avenues that Ben Butler has announced his intention to oppose the treaty on the ground of its not being satisfactory to his constituents, who are Gloucester fishermen, and that Mr. Banks also had declared that he should oppose it with all the vigor at his command, because he thought it not conducive to the best interests of the United States. As Mr. Banks's qualifications for forming an opinion as to what is most conducive to the best interests of the country are of an extremely slender character, and, indeed, are by some held to be non-existent, it is to be hoped that no senator who sees reason to believe that, after long labor by some of our ablest and most patriotic men, a fair conclusion of this matter may be had, will allow his dread of the effect on the people of Mr. Banks's “beautiful baritone organ,” lifted up in a speech of great discursiveness, to have any influence upon his vote. The fact is that Mr. Banks's eloquence is of more consequence to him personally and in his own district than anywhere else; and another fact is, that Mr. Banks's Chairmanship of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has not been improved by him as such a means of enlightening his dense ignorance of everything relating to the right performance of his duties should have been improved. As for Mr. Butler, he may, perhaps, have something to say on behalf of his constituents that will be worth hearing, but everybody knows, too, and it will do no harm to recollect it, when he comes to say his say, that Essex County Yankees, original or adopted, can be sharper than is for the honor of their country, and that Butler is by nature a mischief-maker and an unsuccessful marplot, seldom or never successful except when unresisted.

Next Tuesday, in accordance with a suggestion of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade, which has been very favorably received, a convention of taxpayers, consisting of two delegates from every county in South Carolina, will meet at Columbia to ascertain the exact amount and nature of the State debt and other liabilities, and what frauds, if any, have been perpetrated, and to protest against any addition to the public debt in the meantime. Politics will be excluded from the deliberations of this convention, which is perhaps unique in the history of our State governments. In Charleston, where the Republicans have a slight but working majority, the newspapers of both parties are recommending an equitable division, without a contest, of the places in the city council, giving the Republicans the Mayor in token of their preponderance. Such an arrangement would do credit to human nature, and the mere proposal of it in South Carolina shows a remarkable progress towards a healthy political condition.



Business in trade circles has been rather more active during the past week, partly owing to a brightening up of country trade, and partly owing to a more general spread of the speculative spirit which, emanating from Wall Street, affects to a limited extent all classes of business. Under its influence, prices of many staples have advanced slightly, cotton has been firm, meats have improved somewhat, but breadstuffs are lower. The general imports continue exceedingly large, swelling the Treasury receipts to very liberal figures, and the exports are well maintained, although, at the prevailing low prices, the returns from our cotton shipments fall materially behind anticipations. Real estate has been uncommonly dull and weak, with a more decided expectation of a further decline than has been witnessed for some time. Many buildings are reported to be left unoccupied, and rents in many localities have had a sharp fall. The general want of prosperity is reflected in a striking manner in the income-tax returns, which are reported as exceedingly meagre.

In the financial world, the feature of the week has been the continued excitement and wide fluctuations in prices on the Stock Exchange. There is an evident increase in the participation of outsiders in the speculation, though not to anything like the extent which the leaders of the movement anticipated. Money is naturally easy, and is aided by Mr. Boutwell to some extent, and Government bonds are firm. But, although the 1862 bonds touched par in gold during the week, the highest price ever reached, the funding process appears to have nearly exhausted itself. Foreign exchange has continued high, and the specie shipment for the week is large, nearly three and a-half millions, the total export for the year, so far as elapsed, being the largest recorded. This fact is the more remarkable, that several railroad and other industrial loans are reported to have been recently taken up on the other side, where confidence in our material growth is practically unlimited. Gold has only slightly advanced under the heavy shipment, mainly in consequence of Mr. Boutwell's supposed determination to prevent it.

The Debt Statement for the month accounts in part for the ease in money, the Secretary having reduced his cash balance nearly six millions, which have, of course, gone to swell the loanable resources of the banks. His currency balance is now reduced to about twelve millions, which is ample for all practical purposes. The six millions of currency have been employed in the cancellation of six per cent. bonds, the same as the surplus revenue of the month, which likewise exceeds six millions. The debt is nominally decreased twelve millions, but half of it by cash already in hand last month. The amount of interest paid or accrued on account of the Pacific Railroad bonds now exceeds nine millions and a quarter, which might better be included at once in the total of the debt, as under the recent decisions it is not likely that the Treasury will ever recover any portion of the amount.

Little fighting has taken place, during the week, in the suburban region west of Paris which was lately the scene of the principal conflicts of the French civil war. Asnières, Courbevoie, the surroundings of the Maillot Gate, and Neuilly—which is more than half destroyed—have enjoyed comparative quiet, while the attacks of the Versailles troops have been directed, with increased vigor, against the southern forts, Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge, the same which suffered most heavily from the Prussian fire. A furious bombardment was opened against them on Wednesday, April 26, and continued throughout the night, with particular damage to Fort Issy. The barracks of this fort were destroyed, its fire silenced, and a breach made in the walls. On the morning of the 27th, Les Moulineaux, a village in its close vicinity, which offered an important new position, was carried by the assailants. In the night of the 29th, they carried a park and several buildings situated but a few hundred paces from the intrenchments, whereupon the defenders of the fort, half of whose guns were dismounted, were seized with a

sudden panic, mutinied, and most of them fled. Cluseret, in the morning, hastened to the front, and succeeded in having the fort reoccupied by fresh troops, under command of "General" La Cecilia. Exposed to a raking fire, and almost surrounded, the new garrison seems to be inclined to capitulate, but the negotiations which were opened with it on Monday have as yet led to no result. The Versailles Government is sanguine of speedy success in that quarter, in which it has now concentrated considerable forces. And speedy success is the more needed, as Germany begins to threaten interference in case the struggle should assume the appearance of an "interminable civil war," endangering the moral and material interests of all Europe. The latest accounts from this theatre of war are more than usually contradictory and confused, but still sufficiently indicate that the Government troops, acting with unwonted energy, are steadily gaining ground, and that the moment of a more decisive conflict is rapidly approaching.

Scarcely had the critical condition of affairs on the southern line of defence become known at the sanctum in which the collective wisdom of the Paris Commune deliberates behind closed doors, when it was resolved to dismiss General Cluseret from the high position he had in vain labored to make use of for organizing victory; thus adding another name to the long list of immortal victims of the ingratitude of republics. Another victim is the international Assv, who has been re-arrested; and another, Rigault, late "delegate for public safety" at the Prefecture of Police, who has also been imprisoned. Dombrowski, however, is left in command, together with many another Polish "General" whose past, like his, is historically rather dim. The Paris Commune is magnanimous enough to overlook, or pardon, all kinds of "records," and it is only "the Prussians of Versailles," the violators of all rules of civilized warfare, against whom the "delegate for foreign affairs," Grousset, directs his shafts—who rake up the dubious past of the Dombrowskis, the Cluserets, and the like, to the disgust of all friends of the Universal Republic. The Commune looks only to the future, which cannot, however, be said to be advanced for them by the municipal elections throughout France. The Reds have carried only some minor towns, such as Narbonne and Le Mans, and their attempts to raise insurrectionary commotions, wherever made, have failed.

The Italian Senate is engaged in discussing the bill passed by the lower House, fixing the Papal guaranties and the future relations of church and state, and will probably make some unimportant amendments to it. Nothing, however, will compensate the Pope for the mortification of owing his protection to the Italian Government; and neither his being left a sovereign in the same capital with another sovereign, his life as sacred, and his court of ambassadors as real, nor his being free to appoint bishops without the royal confirmation, persuades him to accept the handsome terms of settlement. Meantime the religious dissenters are beginning to show signs of activity throughout the peninsula, and a great scandal was caused the Catholics by a party of freethinkers at Pisa, who ostentatiously gave a public dinner on Good-Friday. Protests, signed by numerous respectable citizens, were printed in the newspapers, and the Bishop of Mondovi sent to the Minister of Justice a most urgent entreaty that he would interpose to prevent the desecration, referring him to a statute which had long been a dead letter, and which no government nowadays would presume to revive. So the freethinkers ate in peace, while their countrymen generally, heeding neither them nor their clerical persecutors, went on with those commercial and industrial enterprises which are changing the face of Italian society. Judging from the use of the Suez Canal, however, which Italian muscle had so large a share in excavating, Italian commerce is not so enterprising as the position of the country should prompt it to be. Last year, but one in forty of the vessels that passed through was Italian, though the figures for the first months of the present year seem to show an absolute if not a relative increase. In the east, in China and in India, the kingdom is extending its consulships, and trade will doubtless follow in due season.

## POLITICAL PRECEDENTS.

AN article which recently appeared in the *Buffalo Express* draws an elaborate comparison between the Fugitive Slave Law and the so-called Ku-klux bill, and justifies the latter statute by the precedent set in the former. The Fugitive Slave Law, it says, was an extreme measure in the direction of centralization; it recognized no limit to the power of the United States Government; it overrode the sovereignty of the States; it authorized the use of the military arm; it extinguished the writ of habeas corpus—and all to protect the slaveholder in his rights of property. The Ku-klux bill, it urges, adopts the same measures, and calls into action the same forces, but with a far different object. It also acknowledges no limit to the power of the United States Government, and overrides the sovereignty of the States, but only to protect citizens in their lives, in their freedom of action and opinion, and in all their privileges and immunities. We shall not discuss the position thus briefly sketched, but simply use it as the text for a few observations which it plainly suggests upon the danger of political precedents.

The writer in the *Express* is so carried away by the comparison he has made between the atrocious design of the earlier statute and the beneficial object of the present law, that he fails to perceive the double nature and retroactive force of his own argument, which is, indeed, a two-edged weapon, wounding friend and foe alike. This argument, in a nutshell, is as follows: Twenty-one years ago the party in power violated the spirit of the Constitution in order to protect property in slaves; therefore we, who are the special champions of liberty and equal rights, may in like manner and by like means violate the spirit of the Constitution in order to protect life and personal security. Two precedents have thus been established in favor of the same measures of violation, although with very different designs. Do not the *Express*, and all other advocates of this legislation, perceive that, when the party which was in power twenty-one years ago, or its legitimate political descendants, shall again control the Government, it will find in this identical example and in this reasoning ample authority for some future fugitive slave law—ample authority by which to defend any usurpations of power for purposes as unlawful and wicked as those sought to be accomplished by the Force Bill are proper and just? The doctrine that evil can be done that good may come has always found subtle apologists. It has often been invoked by statesmen in the administration of public affairs, but invariably with disastrous consequences. Bad political precedents are dangerous in any form of government, but are emphatically so in a government which is restrained by an organic law, whose observance must be to a great extent voluntary, or compelled more by the moral force of public opinion than by material sanctions. A bad political precedent, set up for a worthy, desirable, and beneficial end, is, in the long run, more dangerous than a similar precedent established for an improper, unjust, and immoral end.

Thus the Force Bill which Congress has just passed carries with it the possibilities of more and greater evil consequences than were involved in the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. A legislation which not only violates the organic law and the elementary principles of political science, but also aims at a final result which is in itself iniquitous, finds few supporters beyond the ranks of those whose immediate interests are subserved. The common sense of justice is outraged, and an opposition at once springs up which continually gathers strength until it finally becomes successful. On the other hand, a legislation which violates the organic law and the elementary principles of political science, but for a worthy, desirable, and beneficial end, at once finds supporters among large classes of good citizens, who, in their anxiety to reach the final result, shut their eyes to the improper nature of the way and the means. The people gradually grow accustomed to the principle embodied in the unlawful exercise of authority; their opinions are reflected by the legislature and by the courts, until in time the measure becomes a part of the settled administrative policy of the country, and may be used as the base of a new departure.

This process is illustrated by the history of the legal-tender enact-

ment. Prior to the war, no lawyer, nor even an intelligent citizen, would have hesitated a moment in pronouncing against the validity of such a statute. It was adopted as an experiment, under the supposition that it was absolutely necessary. The people have acquiesced and the courts have sustained it, and for aught that appears it may remain a permanent feature of our financial system. But it contains the assertion of a power in Congress to break up and destroy all private contracts and personal obligations, and leaves no safeguard against the exercise of such a power. In this very process lies the great danger which must always accompany the kind of legislation we are describing. When, in the course of time, other measures identical in principle, but seeking to effect some unworthy and immoral objects, are proposed and passed by those who confessedly base their action upon the precedent already set, the better citizens will find themselves estopped from making any opposition; their mouths will be shut, or at least all the force will be taken from their arguments, and their remonstrances will be unheeded. In public as well as in private life, with political communities as well as with individuals, bad practices to accomplish good results must inevitably end in total demoralization, in an entire destruction of the practical distinctions between right and wrong.

It ought not to be necessary to remind any one that the good and wise and virtuous will not always control the administration of public affairs; there must be changes and vast oscillations. We may be sure that when the evil-disposed, the dishonest, and the wicked obtain power, they will successfully push to a terrible extremity the precedents which their predecessors have established for them. The very central idea of a constitutional form of government, and the final reason for the adoption of a written organic law, certain and fixed in all its features, is that restraints may be placed upon the acts of good and bad rulers alike, so that the unwise measures done by the former for a worthy end may not be adopted by the latter and perverted to an evil purpose. Were the wise and good always to be in power, there might be little danger that the rights and liberties of individual citizens would ever be infringed. The government might be paternal and protecting. It is enough to say that our institutions were founded upon no such absurd and impossible assumption. They recognize the certainty of constant changes in society and in those who for the time being control society, and have established safeguards intended to protect the people from any possible evil consequences of these social and political revolutions.

The danger from bad political precedents which we are pointing out is not imaginary. It already lifts itself in imposing proportions, and we stand face to face with it. The events of the past two years show beyond a doubt that as fast as the Democratic party has obtained power in the States, it has been quick to apprehend the nature and force of the precedents which a Republican Congress has repeatedly set for its study and imitation. When the same party reaches the position of ascendancy throughout the nation and grasps the reins of the General Government, we may expect a series of legislative measures, terrible perhaps in their results, but each finding an example and a counterpart in some existing statute. The House of Representatives first used the process of impeachment as a means of punishing a political opponent, and with the avowed purpose of achieving a party success. State legislatures have been eager to copy both the act and the motive; and impeachment, which the Constitution designed as the last sanction by which the discretion of executive and judicial officers might be restrained within just limits, may be considered in future as an ordinary and ready instrument in the hands of a party majority to accomplish partisan ends; nay, the acts of the Arkansas Legislature during the past winter have covered this most solemn proceeding with an odium from which it can hardly be rescued. How meek and tame were the Republican protests against the removal of Governor Holden compared with the thunders which would have been uttered had it not been for the attempt to get rid of Mr. Johnson. Again, the "previous question," which was invented to cut off a factious opposition and to put an end to a discussion which had already been exhaustive, has for several years been used as a whip to gather in and control a party majority and as a gag to stifle all debate. The retribution has already



begun in several of the States, and will sometime doubtless be consummated upon the floor of the House. The appeal to the public made during the past winter by Republican members of the Indiana Legislature who had resigned was throughout a curious document, but no portion of it was more curious or more refreshing than that which bitterly complained of the tyranny of the Democratic majority in the use of the previous question, and in the prohibition of debate upon matters of the highest importance to the States. A vision of Thaddeus Stevens ought to have appeared to the writer of this address and to have stayed his hand as he penned the inconsistent complaint. The readiness with which the New York Assembly rejected the claims of Mr. Twombly and seated a Democratic member in his place, finds many a parallel in the acts of recent Congresses, and the process will probably be repeated upon a larger field.

We have already said that the Ku-klux bill itself may perhaps be made the precedent for some future fugitive slave law, or for some other statute which shall equally violate the Constitution, political science, and good morals. The suggestion was reasonable, and its accomplishment is not at all improbable. If the Democratic party should come into power, it is certainly within the range of possibilities that it should endeavor to uphold and sustain the liquor interest by Congressional legislation directed against State prohibitory and license laws. Such a measure could be easily patterned after the present Force Bill; the State laws could be declared void; the States enacting and sustaining them could be described as "abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," and as "denying to persons the equal protection of the laws;" interference with the free manufacture and sale of liquors could be pronounced a crime punishable by the national courts, and resistance could be overawed and put down by the military. In favor of the legality of all this an argument might easily be made, plausible enough at least for all those who should desire to be convinced. The United States is bound and has full authority to protect its citizens in all their rights and privileges; the right to acquire, use, and dispose of property is as sacred as the right to life or liberty, and, equally with the latter, demands protection from the General Government; intoxicating liquors are the subjects of property, which draws after it all the incidents of complete ownership; the Fourteenth Amendment has made the way clear for Congress to interfere; and the State laws which wholly prohibit or partially restrain the free use and traffic in this species of property, are directly opposed to the wholesome provisions of that amendment. This principle has already received the judicial sanction and support of one of the advanced members of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Justice Bradley has declared a statute of Louisiana null and void which incorporated a company for receiving and slaughtering animals, and gave it certain privileges and immunities which were denied to all others engaged in the same business. According to that learned judge, the Fourteenth Amendment was aimed at all State laws which abridge the rights and privileges of citizens as such, and under its benign protection are included not only the rights to life, liberty, and property, but also what he magnificently called "the sacred right of labor."

If we should object, as we certainly should, that the whole matter of the manufacture, use, and sale of intoxicating liquors was within the purview of police regulation, and that the subject of internal police was committed exclusively to the State authorities, we should be met by the ready answer that all this might once have been true, but that the Fourteenth Amendment, as construed by a preceding Congress, had swept within the domain of national legislation the function of personal protection, and that such protection could not stop at life, liberty, and opinion, but must be extended to property. Such would be the logical result—not to say the *reductio ad absurdum*—of a "centralism of liberty," an "imperialism of equal rights." The Democratic party has long been the champion of the liquor interests; it derives a large portion of its support from those engaged in the traffic; it has uniformly opposed all prohibitory laws; and if it should ever come into power, what is more natural than to expect that the influence which has been so prominent in its councils should be equally controlling in its legislation?

#### WHY THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY IS SO CONSERVATIVE.

EVERYBODY who paid any attention to affairs in France during the late war must have been perplexed by the meagreness of the intelligence received from every quarter but Paris. Indeed, although Paris was for four months closely blockaded, we knew far more of what was passing within its walls, and of the condition, feelings, and opinions of the population, than we knew of what was going on in the provinces, or of the condition, feelings, and opinions of *their* population. We knew that troops were pouring into Gambetta's armies in great numbers, and that Gambetta himself was carrying things with a high hand, but what the great bulk of the French people, the men who were doing the fighting, paying the taxes, bearing the heavy weight of the invader's hand, thought about war or peace, empire or republic, Louis Napoleon or Léon Gambetta, nobody knew; and, owing to the defects of the French provincial press, and the interruption to communications, and the non-existence of any representative body, there was no means of finding out. The consequence was that numbers of writers and orators, calling themselves "radicals" and "liberals" and friends of popular government, both here and in England, to their shame be it said, availed themselves of this thick darkness to spread abroad the notion that the French people approved of Gambetta's tricks, did not want a representative government, were willing to have a mighty war carried on, and the blood and treasure of France poured out like water, as long as it pleased a young lawyer, elected by a Paris mob, to play the part of a dictator. What is worse than this, however, is, that now that the provinces, comprising the great body of the French people, acting under the influence of events and tendencies of which foreign observers have until now known little or nothing, have elected an Assembly which does not give satisfaction to the Paris mob, plenty of these same "radicals" and "liberals" are found ready to justify or excuse the Parisians in an attempt to wrest from France the city which she has created with her money, and made illustrious by her genius, and set it up in the midst of her territory as a separate republic, ruled by a low order of adventurers and charlatans, and certain to be deserted almost immediately by all men of intelligence and property.

The veil is at last being lifted which has covered the provinces during the past year. Their voice begins to be heard through the press once more, and we are getting a flood of light on the events of Gambetta's administration outside Paris, and on the agencies which led the French people to elect one of the most conservative Assemblies which has met in France since 1830. Perhaps the most complete and instructive of these revelations is an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of March 15, from the pen of M. Leroy-Beaulieu, in which he gives an account of the political and social situation in the provinces during the siege. We shall endeavor to give the substance of what he says, and commend the article to the perusal of all those who wish to understand for what it is the French people are now contending against the Cluserets, and Duvals, and Assys.

The first effect of Sedan on the provincial mind was utter disgust with the Empire. When he surrendered, Louis Napoleon fell unmistakably not in Paris only, but in all France. M. Leroy-Beaulieu compares the feeling of the country people to the rage one feels with a steward or trustee to whom one has long committed the entire charge of one's affairs, and who has suddenly bolted with one's whole fortune. But disgust with the Empire did not prepare them for the manner in which the dynasty was overthrown on the 4th of September. If there was one thing in which the provincial mind was more fully made up than another, it was that the *coup d'état* of 1848 should not be repeated; for if, said the "rurals," governments are to be overthrown and set up by an "escalade" performed by a street mob at the Chambers or the Hôtel de Ville, what security can we ever have that any government will last over a week without confiding it, as we have done of late, to the care of a dictator with a large standing army? But they were, considering the state of the country, ready to accept accomplished facts, and, above all, to accept the republic loyally and even enthusiastically. The implied acknowledgment of the illegality of its origin, and of its strictly *de facto* character, made by the new government in calling itself "The Government of National Defence,"

satisfied public opinion, and the provinces waited eagerly for the summoning of a National Assembly. Had that Assembly been elected in October, it would have been wholly republican, M. Leroy-Beaulieu declares. The country was still united, still hopeful, and disgusted with monarchy, and the administrative machinery was still working well, and the popular respect for law still unshaken.

Instead of summoning an Assembly, however, the Government sent two of its members—old and feeble men—down to Tours, and then despatched after them Gambetta in a balloon, and these three began a series of follies which have had perhaps no parallel in history, except in the first Revolution, and have, more than Prussian arms, ruined France.

In the first place, they dismissed *all* the prefects. This, considering what a delicate machine the administration is in France, was a bold step to take in the presence of the enemy. But Gambetta then proceeded to fill up their places, and his appointees were all either briefless lawyers and small newspaper men of the order known to us here as "Bohemians" and "blatherskites," or else "advanced" radicals from the departments, who had passed long years fighting with the local authorities, and who only thought of power as a means of wreaking vengeance on their old enemies. The appearance of these nondescripts on the scene perfectly astounded the inhabitants. Their astonishment was increased, however, when another decree, still from Gambetta, broke up all the old municipal councils which, good or bad, did furnish an organized expression of public opinion, and he left the task of reforming them to the discretion of the new prefects; and as each prefect had his own views, each of the eighty-nine departments had, in a few days, a municipal council got up on a separate and distinct plan. About the end of September, the Government thought of having an Assembly elected, and its very first step towards this was the issue of a circular from M. Laurier, a young and light-headed lawyer, who was acting as Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, instructing the new prefects, in the old Imperial fashion, to "enlighten" the electors as to how they ought to vote.

Soon after, however, the idea of holding an election was given up, and Gambetta proceeded to govern alone. Thereupon most of the great cities refused to obey him, and set up governments of their own, Lyons setting the example. In this city the new prefect began a course of illegality in which a great number of others were not slow to follow. By mere decree he dismissed, without giving any reasons, fifteen justices of the peace. The new municipal council then hoisted the red flag, and confiscated all church property. It was ousted and succeeded by a "Central Committee of Revolutionary Initiative," which locked up the district attorney, and declared that as all military officers were Bonapartists and untrustworthy, "it was the right and duty of military citizens (the private soldiers) to depose such officers from their places." The effect of this on the troops, who were going to march against the "Prussian hordes" and rout Moltke, may be imagined. "The International Association of Laborers" seems to have shared the government with the Central Committee, and decreed "the abolition of the governmental and administrative machinery," and declared that "all civil and criminal tribunals were also abolished," and their "places supplied by the justice of the people;" that the payment of taxes was abolished, except as regarded the rich, and all legal enforcement of contracts prohibited; and for municipal councils were substituted "committees of safety," which were to act "under the immediate control of the people." To crown all, the brave Cluseret, who was roving about, was made general-in-chief. The prefect and various other dignitaries were arrested, including the commander of the garrison, the ecclesiastical schools closed, and the priests forced into the army.

At Marseilles much the same scenes occurred. There the new prefect was the well-known writer, M. Esquiros, who proved to be as crazy as the craziest of the "Reds." He dismissed all the judges of the civil courts by decree, and all the old police, and substituted special constables of the Red faction, who soon became the terror of the city, arrested any one they pleased, and occupied themselves largely in getting up "manifestations." Moreover, he got up a "Southern League," composed of his own and the neighboring departments, all of which

sent delegates to a convention at Marseilles, disowned the Paris government, declared the regular army abolished, and fixed on Lyons as "the centre of organization," Marseilles as "the centre of action," and Toulon as "the grand arsenal," and issued a manifesto calling on all France to rally round the "League," all civil and military authorities "to abdicate their prerogatives," and the other regions of France to follow the example of the South.

At Toulouse there was another crazy prefect, M. Duportal, who also dismissed all the judges by decree, and confiscated all church property, and closed all ecclesiastical schools. At Nice the prefect regulated the rent of houses by decree, and fixed the periods of payment. The prefect of the Haute-Loire, refusing to "smash things" in this way, was summarily dismissed as a "traitor," and an editor of the *Rappel*, a Red sheet of the lowest order, put in his place. In the meantime, the revenues of all these departments, raised by all sorts of irregularities, were passing by the million into the hands of these madcaps and Bohemians—many of whom three short months before were not sure of their dinner on any day of the week—and were spent nobody knows how. The whole system of accounts was everywhere thrown into hopeless confusion.

The grand object of all these organizations, risings, and so forth was, to use their own language, to "prevent the military hierarchy from hindering the action of the people." Accordingly, the unfortunate officers of the regular army, laboring might and main to make head against the awful disasters of the campaign and prepare fresh means of resistance, were in all the great cities mobbed, driven out, imprisoned, and threatened with death. Society was rapidly going to pieces; Moltke was marching on, and Gambetta was decreeing and perorating all over the country, as if the doom of the Germans was at hand. His first step, after leaving the balloon, was to postpone the general elections; and his prefects went to work to suppress newspapers also by decree. They suppressed the order of the Jesuits, and banished the members from France, and were performing other extravagances, which, to do Gambetta justice, he in one or two cases tried to prevent, but they refused to obey him. He dismissed the prefect at Marseilles; but he held on, and set the new appointee at defiance. Another prefect levied a forced loan on the Government officers; another dismissed all the mayors of his department and drafted them summarily into the army; and all, as we have said, seized on the taxes and administered them as they pleased.

In the meantime, the Tours Government sent Laurier, the young lawyer, to London to negotiate loans. Without any regular government at his back, he had to accept any terms he could get. Besides foreign loans, the plan of raising money which was most seriously discussed at Tours by the Government, was a forced loan levied on the twelve richest inhabitants of each commune, the list to be prepared by the prefect or other persons in authority. No explanation or account of the terms or manner in which the loan was negotiated in London was ever offered. An official note informed the public that it had been approved by the "Conseil des finances;" but this was the first time the world ever heard of this body, and it was the last, and who composed it was never known.

After the fall of Metz, Gambetta, without waiting for explanation, or knowing anything about the causes of the catastrophe, issued a frantic manifesto declaring it was due to "treason." This led to ten Red risings in different cities, with attacks by mobs on generals and other officers, ending, in two or three cases, in atrocious murders. At Marseilles, the new prefect tried once more to take possession of his office, and was shot for his pains, General Cluseret having been appointed "Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the League" in that city. In the midst of all this horrible disorder Gambetta found time to establish a little official paper called the *Bulletin de la République*, published three times a week, and issued a circular commanding all mayors to circulate it diligently in their communes, and, what was more efficacious, ordering the school-teacher in each commune to read it aloud to the inhabitants every Sunday. This precious little sheet, which was intended to "enlighten the people," was filled principally with scandalous stories of the Imperial Court. Several numbers in



succession contained long accounts of the "Liaisons of Napoleon III. with Marguerite Bellanger" and with "Miss Howard." The writing was generally in the style of the *New York Blatherskite*.

M. Gent, the new prefect at Marseilles, having recovered from his wound, went to work on the old plan. The first ban of the Garde Mobile elected their own officers under a decree of the Tours Government; M. Gent set this aside by a decree of his own, and appointed such officers as he pleased in his department. Some citizens claimed exemption under the law; so he fined them himself from \$200 to \$600 a day for every day they delayed joining their regiment, and made the penalty retroactive—that is, made it cover all the time preceding their claim as well as the time following it. The municipal council about the same time tried to make a loan of \$2,000,000; it was not all taken, so a commission was appointed to visit rich citizens at their houses to make them subscribe.

When the Government removed to Bordeaux, it became, under the influence of the local populace, more frantic than ever, Gambetta's impressionable nature ill fitting him to resist the contagion of outdoor excitement. Violent denunciatory resolutions were passed by the city municipal council. The National Guard gave in their adhesion, and, under their influence, Gambetta issued his famous decree disqualifying whole categories of persons for seats in the National Assembly, and dissolving the councils-general of the departments, the only representative bodies surviving in France. The crusade against the press still continued in a style worthy of the best days of the Empire. Foreign journals were denied admission to France by decree, pamphlets were seized, papers suppressed or suspended, editors locked up for criticising M. Gambetta's measures—in fact, there was no act of arbitrary violence and illegality which has ever been committed in France in the worst days of the monarchy which these apostles of the republic did not commit. They outdid the ministers of Louis XV. in the disorder which they introduced into the finances; they outdid the ministers of Louis Napoleon in the contempt with which they treated representative government and the processes of law, and in their hostility to the liberty of the press; the Empire, too, was often, and justly, reproached with its want of respect for the office of the public school-teacher; but no Imperial minister ever dared to subject the teachers to the degradation which Gambetta imposed on them of reading aloud, in public, on Sunday, a dirty little chronicle of court amours. More than this, they handed over the administration of that portion of France which was not ravaged by the enemy to a swarm of *badouins* from the newspaper offices and cafés of Paris, who helped to destroy military discipline, disorganize the administration of justice, put life and property in peril, and shake every man's confidence in the existence of a government and in the stability of society itself. Can we wonder, after this, and after a humiliating peace to which all these follies and disorders undoubtedly led, that the constituencies should have elected an assembly which, whatever else it may do or leave undone, is determined to take such measures as it can to prevent any return of the sad and sorrowful reign of the Blatherskites?

#### ENGLAND.

LONDON, April 14, 1871.

THERE is one matter in which, by the general consent of such Americans as I have had the pleasure of knowing, we of the old country may claim some superiority over you. We have a greater capacity for taking a holiday, or, if you prefer the phrase, for doing nothing. It is not surprising that we should have developed such a talent, considering how many persons there are in England whose whole life is one long apprenticeship to the art. With a large class which merely regards business as an occasional sauce to pleasure, we have naturally made ample provision for interspersing our labors with a due amount of relaxation. An English university, for example, enjoys six months of absolute recreation, and any effort to diminish this apparently extravagant allowance is generally met by the assertion that the human brain would not bear a longer and more continuous strain. At the present period, we are enjoying the brief interval which gives to weary Londoners a foretaste of the pleasures of the long vacation. Members of Parliament are dispersing—some to take lessons in practical politics at the new siege of Paris, others to repose in the bosom of their families, and others (for that cruel fate overtakes some

zealous persons) to favor their constituencies with brief expositions of their political views. Humbler mortals, each in their own department, are doing what they can to make the best of their brief absence from harness by snatching a few mouthfuls of country air. The university boat-race gives the first signal for play. All London turns out at a premature hour in the morning to watch for hours on the banks of the Thames for a brief glimpse of the racing crews. Then comes Good Friday, which, in more superstitious times, was supposed to have certain solemn associations, and to be properly celebrated by fasting and humiliation. The ordinary Briton now reads his *Daily Telegraph* in the morning, and feels himself considerably edified by its burst of sentimental eloquence, and then proceeds to enjoy himself after his fashion, which, I fear, too often includes the consumption of a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors.

Easter Monday, however, is the most generally recognized festivity, and it is now annually celebrated by a grand review of volunteers. Some 25,000 men had this year the pleasure of spending a day on the Brighton downs. Considered in the light of a grand picnic, these performances may be considered as a decided success. For some reason or other, men like to dress themselves in fancy uniforms, and march about for many hours in a bitter east wind, and other people like to look on. The day is something of the longest, and to persons of defective patriotism not a little tiresome; but, on the whole, it seems to come under the general description of "good fun," as understood by the general public. Regarded as a military spectacle, we used also to be proud of the display; but in such matters we are naturally growing to be rather more exacting. In fact, the business is hardly taken seriously enough to be a real trial of strategic skill. A volunteer writes to complain that his regiment was first ordered to fire away its ammunition at a distance from the enemy equal to about twice the maximum range of the rifles; that it was then moved up to a position where it partook of luncheon under the raking fire of a strong battery of artillery, at the distance of 100 yards; and that some of its supporters afterwards extended in skirmishing order in its rear and commenced a lively fire into its ranks. I know not whether this picturesque anecdote be strictly true, though, from my own experience on similar occasions, I can believe it to be not altogether fanciful. The main object of these performances seems to be the exhibition of a number of picturesque tableaux to the inhabitants of Brighton and their visitors, and the reference to any practical application of the lessons supposed to be taught is exceedingly faint. We are promised better things in future; and people are beginning generally to admit that our volunteer army should either be disbanded or made really efficient. The last course will, I presume, be attempted; but there is great difficulty in persuading gentlemen, who think that they have made sufficient sacrifice when they have gone through a certain number of drills and fired a few rounds at a target in the course of a year, to submit to any sufficiently stringent tests. However, there is so much good raw material that it seems a pity not to turn it to account. At present, our volunteer army is not only deficient in training, in discipline, and in really capable officers, but it has absolutely no organization which would enable it to take the field at any moderately brief notice. To supply these wants, and to impose adequate tests upon volunteers, without damping their ardor, are amongst the problems which the War Office is endeavoring to solve. It is a long and exceedingly complicated task; but we dismiss the matter from our minds at present, to be discussed again, doubtless, in the endless debates which still await the Government measure of army reform. The very thought of that dismal flow of words is painful at the present moment, when our holiday is just beginning. In another fortnight we shall be buckling to our task once more, and therefore we would fain forget it now.

I know not why it is, but when other subjects retire for a space into the background, theological questions always seem to come uppermost in the English mind. For example, the *Times*, which represents the current, easy-going orthodoxy, with a holy horror for all extremes, all enthusiasm, fills most of the space left us by French difficulties with discussions of various religious topics. It has been reviewing Mr. Darwin's new book quite in the good old spirit, which, as I had begun to hope, was rather growing out of fashion. Besides raising the ordinary scientific and metaphysical objections, which are fair enough, whatever their force, it cries out that if Mr. Darwin's views were well-founded, we should lose all sound basis for religion and morality; there would be no particular reason for believing in God or the soul, or for anything except the most grovelling views of expediency in place of morality. According to the epigram, the *Times* is,

In that stage when the regular argument is that a new theory is contradicted by the Bible, and perhaps is approaching the stage at which the argument will be that everybody knew it before. Meanwhile, the popularity of Mr. Darwin's speculations is certainly remarkable. His book is, beyond all comparison, the most successful book of the season; and though, perhaps, few people read to the end of it, almost everybody feels bound to talk about it. The most remarkable thing, however, in spite of the ebullition of the *Times*, is that most people are so very little startled by an argument which, not many years ago, would have been supposed to be subversive of all our religious ideas. Perhaps they have reflected that, even if monkeys were our ancestors, the great point is that we are men, and that no explanation of our origin makes much difference to the conditions under which we are actually placed.

Meanwhile, a more bitter discussion, to which I have already more than once alluded, is raging in theological circles. The Purchas case has produced an amount of excitement to which nothing has afforded a parallel since the development of the Tractarian movement thirty years ago. The discussion overflows the bounds of the so-called religious papers, and it is impossible to take up any newspaper without coming upon furious invectives from one side or the other. The last contribution to the controversy comes from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is sufficiently characteristic of the spirit in which the rulers of the church are meeting the storm that rages around them to deserve short notice. The primate lays down, in the first place, the principle that the law must be respected, and that, if the judgment of the highest courts is to be impugned as dishonest and ignorant because it tells against any particular party, there is no result except absolute anarchy; but when he tries to draw some practical conclusions, he becomes terribly puzzled. He says, on the one hand, that the law should not be enforced in a rigid and inquisitorial spirit; and on the other, that the supremacy of the law must be recognized. He begs the clergy not to trouble themselves about such trifles, but to unite against the progress of infidelity. This is all very well, but it does not throw much light upon the subject. The courts have decided that the clergy are not to array themselves in particular garments. The question is whether the bishops are to endeavor—moderately, of course, and with due regard to particular circumstances—to suppress the use of the garments in question, or whether they are to fold their hands and allow the decisions of the court to be neglected and its members openly insulted. The good archbishop—for he is really a most exemplary and amiable prelate—obviously shirks this question. He talks about his "dear brethren" and the paternal interest of his colleagues in their subordinates, and is generally most anxious that everything should be made as pleasant as possible. Unfortunately, people have become far too angry to listen to such well-meant advice. If, as is highly probable, the bishops act in the spirit thus recommended, and endeavor to evade any responsibilities whatever, the result is easily foreseen. Indignant Protestant Associations will bring actions against the recalcitrant Ritualists, and an amount of bitter feeling will arise which will speedily threaten very seriously the vitality of the Establishment. There seems, indeed, to be another possible mode of escape. There is, namely, a prospect that the case may be reheard, and, of course, the judgment may be reversed. And yet a reversal of the judgment, under such circumstances, would be such an apparent confession of weakness as must damage most seriously the theory of a state church. It would be said, and with every appearance of justice, that the court had been bullied into giving up their interpretation of the law simply because it was unpleasant to a good many influential people. The immediate danger would no doubt be averted, but it would be at the expense of the character of the supreme court of appeal, and therefore at the expense of the only tribunal upon which the laity can count to restrain the vagaries of the clergy. The prospect is not encouraging to the advocates of an establishment, in whatever direction we look; and the want of backbone, if I may use such a word, exhibited by the highest authorities, is of rather bad augury for the successful management of the institution in the stormy times which await it.

## Notes.

Forty years after the first publication of Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," a cheap edition of it and of all his works is begun by Messrs. Scribner, Welford & Co., in connection with the English house of Chapman & Hall. The series will comprise upwards of thirty volumes, issued monthly, in

shape a square 12mo, quite convenient to hold; and in respect of binding, paper, and print so unexceptionably good that the price at which they are furnished seems very low indeed. Any single volume may be had for ninety cents, or the whole set may be subscribed for at seventy-five cents. The "Sartor Resartus" has an admirable steel portrait of the author. The demand for it has been such as to promise a very gratifying success for the edition, which, by the way, will have all the merits of the carefully revised library edition of the same works.—Mivart's "Genesis of Species" has been reprinted by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.—Messrs. Dodd & Mead announce "The American Cardinal," a novel by an Episcopalian clergyman whose name is not divulged; and "Papers for Home Reading," by Rev. John Hall, D.D.—On the important subject of trade-marks there are said to be but two law-books in the language, one English and one American, and both incomplete. Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co. are to publish a work which will repair this deficiency: "A Collection of all the American Cases, adjudicated prior to the year 1871, affecting the law of Trade-Marks; with references, and an appendix containing abstracts of the leading English cases, the U. S. statute, etc.," by Rowland Cox, of Washington, D.C. There will be a copious and minute index.—Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s agency in this city has been removed from No. 63 Bleeker Street to No. 38.

—We share fully in the regret of Mr. Robert Clarke that the Ohio Valley Historical Series, of which he has been the disinterested editor and publisher, is to be discontinued for want of support. It has been, he states, less favorably received by the citizens of the Ohio Valley than at the East, and they are therefore immediately responsible for its termination. We trust, however, that the enterprise may be revived at no distant day. In any event it has doubtless answered one of the aims of its projector, viz., "to do something towards the preservation of the fast disappearing records and reminiscences of the early days of the now great and prosperous Central West." The last volume, in which this announcement is made, is one of the most interesting of the series, though the greater part of it has already appeared in print. It contains: "Memorandum of a Tour made by Josiah Espy in the States of Ohio and Kentucky and Indiana Territory in 1805;" "Two Western Campaigns in the War of 1812-13" by Samuel Williams; and "The Leatherwood God: An Account of the Appearance and Pretensions of Joseph C. Dylks, in Eastern Ohio, in 1828," by R. H. Taneyhill—one of the most extraordinary narratives of religious fanaticism we have ever met with.

—Mr. Espy's narrative is that of a man with a "curiosity for observation," as he himself says, and with an acute judgment which led him frequently to conclusions greatly in advance of his time. For example, at the Yellow Spring, in Ohio, he remarks:

"From the small quantity [of sediment] which this spring deposits in one year, compared with the immense size of the mound, the man of science will find it difficult to reconcile the Scriptural account of the time of creation (according to common computation) with the number of ages it must have taken to produce this little mountain of mineral earth. To me it is another evidence of the great age of the world, and that Biblical chronology has not rightly been computed heretofore."

Other passages confirm this aptness for the study of nature, while the following attests the writer's political insight:

"The emigrants [to Ohio] from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Southern States are chiefly composed of those who are either opposed to slavery, or are unable to purchase slaves. Consequently, this class of people are daily increasing in Ohio. The expectations of the few who wish the introduction of slavery there can never be realized." In Indiana, on the other hand, "this circumstance [the legalizing of slavery, 1805-1810] will check the emigration of farmers who do their own labor, while the slave-owners of the Southern States and Kentucky will be encouraged to remove thither; consequently the state of society there will be altogether different from that of Ohio. Its manners and laws will assimilate more and more to those of Virginia and Kentucky, while Ohio will, in these respects, more closely imitate Pennsylvania and the Middle States."

—We have been furnished with the official abstracts of the census returns of the Territory of Utah for 1870. They should enable us to see whether the anomalous state of society there existing has produced any marked effects on population. As some standard of comparison is required for this purpose, we have taken the population of Massachusetts, where, during the past two hundred and fifty years, men have been content with one wife apiece. The Massachusetts returns are taken from the published report of the State census of 1865, being the latest available. The total population of Utah is 86,786, and of Salt Lake City alone 17,246. There are 1,456 more males than females in the Territory; but, excluding the young children and the Chinese, the numbers of the sexes are nearly equal. Above the age of twenty, the foreign-born exceed the native-



born, and, among the foreign-born, the women exceed the men. 4,790 men and 5,379 women, between the ages of 20 and 35, were born in foreign countries. In Salt Lake City, which, we suppose, may be regarded as the headquarters of Mormonism, the proportion of foreigners is greater. Nearly three-fourths of the whole number between the ages of 25 and 50 were born abroad, and of this class we find 1,577 to be men, and 1,791 women. The following table shows the comparative ages of the population in Utah and in Massachusetts, expressed in each case in percentages of the whole number:

	Utah. 1870.	Massachusetts. 1865.
Under 5.....	19.24	10.57
5 to 10.....	15.64	11.32
10 to 15.....	13.39	10.00
15 to 20.....	9.42	9.25
20 to 30.....	14.02	17.80
30 to 40.....	11.15	14.64
40 to 50.....	8.00	11.77
50 to 60.....	5.21	7.61
60 to 70.....	2.80	4.67
70 to 80.....	0.95	2.10
80 to 90.....	0.17	0.60
90 to 100.....	0.01	0.06
Unknown.....	—	0.11
	100.00	100.00

—It will be seen from the above that children under fifteen years of age make up (in round numbers) half the population of Utah, and one-third of the population of Massachusetts, while 15 per cent. of the population of Massachusetts, and 9 per cent. of that of Utah, are above 50 years of age. This proportion of children in a new country, where additional hands are of value and additional mouths of little account, where there are also but few persons of advanced age, and a nearly equal number of the sexes at maturity, would not strike us as remarkable even if polygamy did not exist. In Massachusetts it is to be observed that, besides the very considerable number of aged persons, there were, in 1865, 49,185 more women than men between the ages of 20 and 40. There was that number of women at marriageable ages for whom no partners existed. Under a system of polygamy, it is reasonable to suppose that most of them would have had husbands and children. In Utah the population shows a proportion of 156.4 children under five years to each 100 women between the ages of 20 and 40; in Massachusetts, a proportion of 58.2 children under five years to each 100 women between 20 and 40. The proportion of the sexes among children under one year of age in Utah corresponds very nearly with what has been observed wherever accurate records are made. The laws of nature in this respect are not disturbed by the accident of one man having six wives and five men having none. 105 or 106 males to 100 females is the birth-rule the world over, and Utah conforms to it.

—Temporary expedients like the Shellabarger Bill are least to be feared by the Ku-klux. Their greatest enemy, to speak comprehensively, is "the long run." Give time enough, and there are plenty of slow-working forces that will surely undermine this or any similar organization opposed to public quiet and prosperity. One of these, and which is perhaps nearest to the enemy's works, is the Peabody Education Fund; and we recommend, as a capital anti-Ku-klux tract, the fifth report of its general agent, Dr. Sears (Cambridge, press of John Wilson & Son). His account of the progress of education in Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, Florida, and especially Arkansas, is very encouraging. In North Carolina, on the other hand, the public school system "has met with some opposition and more coldness; the taxes have been imperfectly collected and paid into the treasury; and the counties and townships have been negligent in making the returns required by law." The funds available for the education of 342,168 children of school age are, in this State, but \$200,000. In South Carolina "the new school law has not been in operation long enough, nor have the school funds been ample enough, to produce very marked results." Texas, also, which has meant well, and legislated not badly, has not yet put its system into operation. In Alabama, the system established more than two years ago has met with opposition, and comparatively little has been done. The work of the Fund has been, as usual, to encourage the founding of schools where none exist, to aid independent efforts already begun, to sustain schools of special value or in peculiar straits, but to do nothing except as auxiliary. This course, as wise in itself as necessary from the smallness of the Fund's resources, has been remarkably successful in developing a public interest in education and a determination to have free schools at any cost. During the past year it disbursed, in assisting 213 towns, districts, and institutions, the sum of \$108,900. The people thus benefited have expended of their own means \$550,000. The Board of Trustees, at the annual meeting in Phila-

delphia in February, expressed its "deep sense that the time has come for calling the attention of the State of Mississippi to the bonds issued by the State to the Planters' Bank," which were included in Mr. Peabody's gift, and which, as is well known, the State repudiated when less scrupulous, it is to be hoped, than now. The Trustees voted to present a memorial to the Mississippi Legislature on this subject.

—The following extract from Dr. Ellis's "Life of Count Rumford" (p. 102) is not the least instructive portion of that valuable work. With the necessary changes, it might answer as a picture of the French conduct of the late war:

"When, soon after the peace, the members of the successive administrations and parliaments of Great Britain looked back over the long series of mortifying blunders, mishaps, and discomfitures connected with the management of the war, there was one conviction which, as an explanation or palliation, offered them chief relief, though in itself hardly a consolation, namely, that they had all along been working in the dark. They were made aware of the entire ignorance, and of the wholly misleading knowledge so-called, of this country, its geography, its people, their feelings, purposes, and resources, under which the war had been conducted. This ignorance was felt in itself to have been culpable, though the reason of it had been mainly indifference, if not arrogant contempt. Means of information had been within the reach of the Government. Franklin and other provincial agents had offered to enlighten the ministry. Whole drawers of despatches and other important papers relating to the American colonies had lain unopened in Government offices. Indeed, the first knowledge which some of the custodians of those papers and many more recent historical and political essayists obtained about important documents hid away in those offices, came to them through the requests sent in for the privilege of examining them by investigators like Mr. Sparks, who crossed the ocean for that purpose."

The France of that day, indeed, committed no such blunders. What pains Choiseul and De Broglie were at to learn the true condition of the colonies, is well described in Kapp's "Life of De Kalb."

—In Plato's version of the story of Gyges, he relates how, after that shepherd had found the magic ring, "he chanced to turn towards the inner side of his hand" the stone of the ring, as we should naturally say in telling it; but the Greek word used by Plato is *σφενδαύνη*, literally "a sling," i.e., "that which contains the stone," the part of the ring holding the stone. For ordinary purposes of translation *stone* answers; if the translator wishes to be more exact, and to show that the original term means *what holds the stone*, we really do not see any valid objection to *setting*. If, however, this be rejected as ambiguous, we must find the exact English for *σφενδαύνη* in this sense, if such word exists. There is such a word, though antiquated; it is *bezel* or *bezil* in its later, *beazil* or *beasil* in its more archaic forms. We presumed this to be the received Cambridge rendering, till, on referring to Messrs. Davies and Vaughan's translation of the "Republic," we found to our surprise *hoop*—a translation positively erroneous, as we shall show. Professor Jowett gives *collet*, which we suppose must be the recognized Oxford term. We do not prefer it; first, because there is a doubt, to say the least, whether *collet* (probably from Latin *collum* and cognate to *collar*) does not mean the *whole circle* of the ring. Crabb's "Technical Dictionary" says "bezel or bezil is the upper part of the collet of a ring which encompasses and fastens the stone." This sentence, to be sure, is equivocal; the relative "which" may refer to "collet," but the sense certainly points to "bezel" as the antecedent, so that here we have an objection like that to the Davies Vaughan rendering, only less strong. For *hoop* certainly means the *whole circle* of the ring; or, if there is any limitation, it is precisely the *σφενδαύνη* that is expected; the hoop is either the whole ring, or the whole ring *minus* the bezil. Secondly, *collet* has other technical meanings in various arts; e.g., in gunnery it signifies the part of a cannon next the muzzle, whereas bezil in its various forms always means the same thing.

—Dr. Döllinger has a companion in persecution in Dr. Tangermann, of Unkel, whose opposition to the infallibility dogma has caused the Archbishop of Cologne to suspend him from his cure. He has accordingly published a pamphlet with the title: "The Romish-Jesuitical Innovation" (*Die römisch-jesuitische Neuerung*), in which he asks the Government whether it ought not, in the case of a priest who has remained true to the ancient faith, and whose congregation adheres to him, to sustain him against the discipline of the bishops. Such an appeal reminds us that church and state are still united in Prussia, while the Latin race south of the Alps is on the eve of formally pronouncing them divorced. An Italian critic, indeed, has taken Döllinger to task for saying that the system which declares the tribunal of God and of the Pope to be one and the same, "bears its Latin origin stamped on its forehead, and can never penetrate into German countries." In the Roman Empire, replies the

*Perseveranza*, after the rise of Christianity, the civil power and legislation constantly maintained their full rights with regard to the ecclesiastical authority; and it was not till the barbarians had descended into Italy ("for there was a time when the Germans were barbarians") that the church usurped those rights, and the Papacy began to form itself into a sovereign and universal power. The Latins were the most obstinate in opposing its supremacy over the civil authority, and the Holy Roman Empire was the product neither of the Latin mind nor of Latin history, but of the Papacy on the one hand and the German spirit on the other. "We Latins resisted it and fought it down, but did not create it." Latterly, since the birth of ultramontanism, whatever the share of the Italian clergy in spreading and defending it, the Italian laity has either paid no heed to it or has combated it; "and to-day we Latins have a better right than foreigners to call these doctrines *ultramontane*." The notion of an empire armed, as Dante says, with two swords, spiritual and temporal, is so peculiarly German that German society is not yet freed from it. As it was a German and not a Latin movement that maintained from 800 till 1500 A.D. the Holy Roman Empire, so was that later movement, begun by Luther, "which in Protestant states subjected the church to the prince, and was formulated in one of the most horrible sentences with which history has ever been stained—*cujus regio, illius religio*."

—Neither must what religious freedom owes to France of the eighteenth century be forgotten by the detractors of the Latin race; nor ought they to flatter French vanity at the expense of truth in order to impute a Latin origin to Charlemagne's union of church and state. "No claim can be more groundless," says Mr. Bryce in his "Holy Roman Empire," "than that which the modern French, the sons of the Latinized Kelt, set up to the Teutonic Charles. . . . He was a Roman, much less a Gaul, in nothing but his culture and his width of view; otherwise a Teuton." The French, in fact, have not been over-cautious in appropriating great men and great events to themselves. They have even gone so far as to call the art of printing a French invention, because Guttenberg lived in Strassburg, which, says a German scholar, writing in 1866, "it is well known has belonged to France since the creation of the world." As it is a poor rule that will not work both ways, the Germans in recovering Elsass have doubtless regained also their title to the great discovery of modern times.

—Apropos of Döllinger, the *Westliche Post* recalls his "excommunication" more than thirty years ago by Heinrich Heine, he being then one of the firmest pillars of the Roman hierarchy. Heine asks, in his "Wintermärchen," while speaking of Munich:

"Lebt denn noch der erzinfame]  
Pfaffe Döllingerius—  
Dieses ist doch wohl sein Name—  
Lebt er noch am Isardfuss?"

The "world-infamous" has in the meantime become the "world-famous;" and Heine's lines might now be adopted into the Catholic hymnology.

#### JOWETT'S TRANSLATION OF PLATO.\*

(SECOND NOTICE.)

PERHAPS by this time the reader may ask, Is Plato worth all the praise and trouble that have been bestowed on him? And, if so, why? If we give him up as a systematic philosopher and a practical statesman, what do we leave him? Much, as we shall endeavor to show.

A very great merit of Plato's is his merit as a dramatic writer. Let us take a single dialogue, the "Gorgias" (which we select not because intrinsically better fitted for our purpose than many others, but because, having been for many years a text-book at Yale, it is known to more American readers). What a wealth of dramatic power it displays! Callicles, the finished gentleman and unscrupulous man of the world, ambitious withal, something much superior to a M. de Camors, having in him the stuff of a Bonaparte or a Bismarck, intended, some think, for the real Critias. Gorgias, the professed rhetorician, fertile in commonplace, weak in first principles, yet not without a certain dignity. Polus, related to Gorgias as the colt to the horse, the tyro to the master, the college senior to the experienced politician. And Socrates himself—sceptical, ironical, satirical, but with a deep background of seriousness, overhung by the shadow of his approaching doom. Nor must we overlook that wonderfully flexible style, which imitates without servility, and parodies without

vulgar ridicule, as in that charming speech of Agathon's in the "Symposium"—charming to us who can but make haphazard guesses, for the most part, at the pronunciation and rhythm of the original, a discourse filled with antitheses like a Thucydidean\* speech, artificial to the last degree, yet so beautiful in its art and artifice that we could not wish it to be more natural.

So much, briefly, for Plato as a literary man. Now for him as a philosopher. We admit that he was not a consistent political speculator. He began life as a liberal; he ended it as a bigot. And, though his works contain many able strictures on the practical working of Athenian democracy and the general tendency of democratic institutions, it cannot be maintained that he ever suggested a practical remedy. Nor was he a consistent metaphysical speculator. Not only has his great theory of ideas been utterly dropped by modern thinkers, but he himself seems to have dropped it in his later, post-Socratic period. Such, at least, is the inference which most readers draw from the "Parmenides," and which Professor Jowett certainly does not discourage.

But we are far from having covered the whole ground. In the negative conclusions, the resultless results of many of the earlier dialogues, we see not indeed philosophic truth itself, but one most important preliminary step to the discovery of truth. Whatever may have been the merits of Parmenides as the pioneer of logic and metaphysics, it is not too much to say that the sceptical spirit took its first definite form and crystallized, so to speak, with the Platonic Socrates.

How much of this truly remarkable character was a real man and how much mythical, how much of him was Socrates and how much Plato? is a question, the discussion of which has filled shelves of English and libraries of Continental literature, and into the depths of which the reader will hardly expect us to plunge. We shall only notice two points connected with it which, to the best of our knowledge and recollection, have not attracted much (if, indeed, any) comment.

Persons who take an unfavorable view of Plato on account of what they consider his mysticism and sensualism, hold that he foisted upon Socrates a great deal that was not Socrates at all, and that for a true and correct representation of the sage we must turn to his other great disciple, Xenophon. *Per contra*, those who worship Plato with the admiration of a German for Goethe, and regard Xenophon as a good, honest country gentleman, very liberal-minded and sometimes verging on twaddle, maintain that Socrates imparted to him more of his esoteric mysteries, but only revealed to the pupil what the pupil had capacity to appreciate. Both parties, so opposed in other respects, seem to agree in this, that Xenophon's representation of Socrates makes no addition to the real character.

Now, is this an adequate view of Xenophon's position? Was he, in regard to his master, only a better sort of Boswell? We think not. Any man who can write a historical novel like the "Cyropædia," must have some idealizing power and propensity; and there is, therefore, no absurdity or improbability in the supposition that Xenophon idealized his Socrates after his fashion.

Again, we suspect that the negative and sceptical character which pervades most of the earlier Platonic dialectics was one of the main causes that stimulated the wish to build up a complete and consistent system of morals, politics, and general philosophy out of the long series of Plato's works. Men supposed (not so unnaturally) that all this levelling of the ground must be intended as a preparation for some great and harmonious edifice, and the certain amount of connection between certain dialogues would favor the idea that all these dialogues and trilogies (so to speak) might be ultimately reduced to a single orderly group.

Of the two great qualities which we have remarked in Plato, Mr. Grote lays most stress on the latter. Professor Jowett, while recognizing both, and giving fair prominence to the former, rests his claim to a great reputation mainly on a third, namely, that he was "the father of idealism." And this leads us to look back on what we have said about Plato's scheme of government. One of our paragraphs in that place may require a fuller development. We noted that the abolition of marriage and private property was confined to the guardian class in the "Republic." That this important limitation should be neglected by persons who speak of Plato at second, or third, or tenth hand is not remarkable, but we had never met with a scholar who even in the most cursory manner ignored it,† and we

\* "The Dialogues of Plato. Translated into English. With Analysis and Introductions. By B. Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford." In four volumes. London, Oxford, and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

† Yet no more Thucydidean than Elizabethan. "Let not us that are squires of the night's body be called thieves of the day's beauty." Is not this the very counterpart of *Οὐ δ' εὐπρεπὲς ἄνθρωποι ἐλθέμεν εὐλόγως ἀπραγματοῦν ἁλιεύειν*?

† Except George Cornwall Lewis, in whom we attributed the omission to inadvertence.



were certainly surprised to find Professor Jowett speaking of it as "an omission of no real significance, probably arising from the plan of the work, which prevents the author from entering into details."

In order to weigh the probabilities in this matter, it is necessary to correct the wrong impressions which we may have acquired of ancient democracy from our experience of modern, and especially to rectify the wrong inferences which we are apt to draw from isolated facts in Greek political history. Thus, when we read of seisacthies and liturgies (to speak after the Anglo-Greek manner of Mr. Grote), that is to say, of almost periodical repudiations of debts and impositions on rich men of expensive public duties, we are tempted to regard the fierce democracy as something far more radical than any coherent government of later times; and, if the existence of slavery threatens to interfere with this conception, the mental answer is that, at any rate, slavery promoted a sort of equality among all free men. Now, however a practical statesman or popular demagogue may have favored the notion of general equality, nay, whatever approaches may have been made to the thing itself in actual life, it certainly was not recognized as the true theory by either the Athenian philosopher or the Athenian gentleman. Neither Alcibiades nor Xenophon, neither the Platonic nor the Xenophonic Socrates, neither the dramatic Callicles nor the real Critias, acknowledged it. Plato himself, while anticipating in his way all the "strong-mindedness" of woman and her equality with man, never said or thought one man was as good as another. The "common people," the *βάραντοι*, were as much below the "gentlemen and scholars," the *καλοκἀγαθοί*, as in aristocratic England or Austria. Different legislation for different classes was exactly in accordance with the speculative views of the educated, though the hard logic of facts generally hindered them from carrying out these views in practice. And the principle that certain privileges carry with them certain restraints and self-denials (which is good Christian doctrine to boot) occurs frequently in the writings of Plato and of other philosophers.

The abolition of private property and marriage (especially the latter) for the guardians were measures chiefly aimed at the improvement of the breed, a result less important for the lower classes. Laborers and traders could "get on" well enough on the old plan. In the same way, a theoretical legislature might prescribe for a certain class of youth (say, gentlemen's sons or prospective officers or travellers) athletic sports and exercises requiring much expenditure of time and money, or both, which would not be desirable or feasible for the rest of the community.

But now comes up another important question. Granted that the *quasi-communism* of the "Republic" was confined to the guardian class, is this in Plato's favor as compared with later communists? Our first impulse is to answer in the negative, and to admit that, after all, the Regius professor may be right, and the distinction between the classes in this respect is of no practical consequence. For what was forbidden to the highest class, or the highest but one, would naturally have an unfavorable stamp throughout the whole state. Suppose—and a would-be Plato in Congress actually did make such a proposition not long ago—that all Government functionaries were prohibited from using fermented liquors or tobacco, then (supposing, also, that such legislation was practically effective and not merely nominal) a general disrepute would after a time be attached to these indulgences everywhere.

But when we pass from the region of theory to that of fact, the example of priestly celibacy in the Romish Church at once arises to confront us; and bearing in mind the prevalent Greek idea that the individual is always to be sacrificed to the state, we can understand how the *quasi-communism* of the guardians, though in some sense an honor, might have been the reverse of a privilege. There is much plausibility in this aspect of the case, yet we must not accept it too hastily without regard to some qualifying circumstances. The Roman Church has found it necessary to strengthen marriage against the consequences of clerical celibacy by various precautions, such as calling it a sacrament,\* making it indissoluble, etc., etc.; yet, in spite of them, it may be doubted if as much honor is practically paid to the institution in Romish as in Protestant countries—even after all allowance has been made for some of our own recent eccentricities in the way of divorce—and certainly the notion of marriage is less compatible with that of exalted piety or holiness in the former than in the latter.

Still, on the whole, we may admit the limitation as a point in Plato's

\* The accidental origin of this tenet (a misunderstanding of the later Latin *sacramentum mysterium*) does not interfere with its practical effect at an after period. Compare Macaulay's remarks on the exclusion of clergymen from the House of Commons, of the king from his own cabinet, etc.

favor, but another plea often urged in his behalf and strongly pressed by Professor Jowett appears to us only an aggravation of the offence. We are told that Plato was an idealist, that he did not suppose his ideal state to be possible unless and until man could reach the philosopher's millennium, and much more to the same effect. So much the worse for his ideal, if it is bad. A bad ideal is worse than a bad reality. The former has material obstacles to excuse or palliate it. We say of an ideal, "It is very fine, but too good to be realized; the most we can hope is to be constantly approaching it, but the co-ordinate will never reach the abscissa." But if the ideal be not good, what then? Let us reverse Plato's method, and proceed from the individual to the state. We draw a hero of romance; we invest him with all the desirable attributes of humanity that can possibly be collected in a single person consistently. If such a man existed, we should like him for a friend or a connection; we should like to be like him ourselves. But take a hero of a certain French school; we may say that we admire him, but that means that we admire the skill with which he is drawn, as we might say that we admired a tiger, meaning that we admired his adaptation to destroy. We admire the character of Callicles in the "Gorgias," not the man Callicles, but the power with which he is depicted; in fact, not Callicles but Plato. We have no wish to be like Callicles; we do not propose him to our sons as a model.

On the whole, we are forced to conclude that the change in Plato from the Socratic to the positive, from the "Phædo" to the "Laws," was a moral decadence, and that only from a psychological point of view can it be called an intellectual progress, however deplorable.

#### FURNESS'S SHAKESPEARE.\*

THAT a new Variorum Shakespeare is wanted, no one will be inclined to dispute. The last work of the kind—by Boswell, son of Johnson's biographer—appeared in 1821. In the half-century since then, Shakespearean studies have been carried on with constantly increasing activity. Much has been done for the criticism of the text, much for its interpretation. The number of critical editions has more than doubled. Illustrative works of every kind and of all degrees of merit have swarmed from the press. Along with the countrymen of the poet, English or Anglo-American, scholars of other lands have entered the field. The Germans, laboring with an unbounded enthusiasm, with a kind of Shakespeareolatry, have done much for the higher criticism of the dramas as works of poetic art: what they have contributed to the construction and explanation of the text, though marked by learning and ability, cannot be said to have very high value. We have thus a Shakespeare literature wonderful for extent and variety. It is clearly time that some one should go through it, and present its substance in a condensed and accessible form, furnishing a compend in which the Shakespeare student may find the main results on all points of interest, and may see where to go for fuller information.

This is the task—*opus vere operosum*—which Mr. Furness has undertaken. For his trial-piece he has selected "Romeo and Juliet," one of the earliest and one of the most attractive of the dramas. Text and commentary form the body of the volume. Below the text on each page stand the various readings; and below these, at the foot of the page, yet often nearly filling it, the explanatory notes. Here the aim has been to insert all remarks, wherever found, that throw a needed light on the meaning of the author. In deciding what to admit, the editor has exercised a liberal judgment. He has preferred, with reason, to err on the side of fulness rather than of defect. Perhaps he feared that by a stricter method he should exclude much that to some readers would seem interesting and useful. One aim of his work was to present a history of Shakespearean interpretation; and for this it was necessary that imperfect or erroneous views should appear in it as well as the correct. Often, indeed, the correct view is seen in a clearer light, and with greater force of evidence, when placed in contrast with the imperfect or erroneous.

The editor has taken pains to make his work complete to the very date of its publication. He has taken valuable observations from the third edition of Abbott's "Shakespearean Grammar," which has been out only a few months. The references to this excellent book might well have been more numerous than they are. Thus Abbott, § 461, would throw light on "thou'st hear" (I. iii. 9) for "thou shalt hear;" A. § 391, on "saints do not move, though [they] grant for prayers' sake" (I. v. 103); A. § 419a, on "the appertaining rage to such a greeting" (III. i. 58); A. § 292, on

\* "A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Edited by Horace Howard Furness." Vol. I. Romeo and Juliet. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871. 8vo, pp. xxiii., 480.

"thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds" (III. v. 151). Where Romeo says to Friar Laurence, "both our remedies within thy help and holy physic lies" (II. iii. 51), a reference to A. § 333, on the third person plural in *s*, would have been worth more than the half-page of commentary, in which Mason declares that Shakespeare "has sacrificed grammar to rhyme," Singer rejoins that "Shakespeare must not be tried by rules [of syntax] which were invented after his time" (as though Shakespeare could have said *he are* or *we am*), Delius explains that "both our remedies (meaning the remedy of both of us) is in reality a singular," while Charles Knight exults loudly in what he is pleased to term "this exquisite bit of false concord."

In the collection of various readings which stands on each page between the text and the commentary, the student is shown the readings of all the five quartos, all the four folios, and all professedly critical editions down to the present time. Only for the first quarto (that of 1597), which differs widely from all the other authorities, and is more than a fourth shorter, a different course had to be taken: it is printed by itself, in full, and with fac-simile spelling, at the end of the volume. The critical editions are named on page xvii. in the order of their dates, and are thirty-five in number, including the second editions of Pope, Theobald, Singer, Knight, Collier, and Dyce. Many conjectural readings which were originally proposed in essays or articles of various kinds, have afterwards been adopted in one or more of the editions. In all such cases Mr. Furness is careful to name the first proposer. Indeed, he mentions, and credits to those who first suggested them, a large number of conjectures which have not been taken up in a single edition. In a collection of this kind, the main point, of course, is that it should be complete and exact. We cannot profess to have tested the author's work by comparisons of our own; we have not even the necessary apparatus for doing so. But from a variety

indications, we are satisfied that his self-imposed task has been executed with conscientious and unwearied fidelity.

A remarkable case of various readings, a case in which criticism and interpretation are equally involved, is reserved for the Appendix, where it occupies nearly thirty closely-printed pages. It relates to a single word in the monologue of Juliet, Act III., Scene II.:

"Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,  
Towards Phoebus' lodging: such a waggoner  
As Phaethon would whip you to the west,  
And bring in cloudy night immediately.  
Spread thy close curtain, love performing night,  
That runaway's eyes may wink, and Romeo  
Leap to these arms, untalk'd of and unseen."

The trouble here comes from the word *runaway's* (line 6), which appears, with only some difference of spelling, in all the early authorities. Of the critics, a large part retain it; but with a surprising diversity of opinion as to what it means. According to Warburton (whom Theobald and Johnson follow, the last with some hesitation), it is the *sun*, named *runaway* here from the swiftness of his course. According to Steevens (followed by Rann and Cornwall), it is the *night*, whose flight Juliet would wish to retard, and whose eyes are the stars. According to Lunt, it is *Phaethon*, as *run away* with by the steeds of the sun. According to Seymour, it is *Romeo*, as about to *run away* with Juliet. According to Douce (and Massey), it is *Juliet*, thought of as a *runaway* from her filial duty. According to Halpin (followed by Ulrici, Mitford, and Halliwell), it is *Cupid*, the *ἑρμῆς*, fugitious, "runaway" *par éminence*. (Is not Mr. Furness partial to this view? He allows its advocates to present it at a disproportionate and unnecessary length.) Hunter writes *runaways*, as genitive plural, making it refer to rovers who wander about in the night; and in this he is followed by Muirson, Delius, and Staunton. The last seems, indeed, to be only sure of the word *run-away*, uncertain "whether it applied to Romeo, or to Juliet, or to Day, or to Night, or to the Sun, . . . or to the Moon, who has some claim to the distinction, . . . or to the Stars, for whom much might be said; or whether," etc. But to many critics the difficulty of making out what is meant by *runaway* has seemed an objection to the word; and various attempts have been made to get rid of it by conjectural emendation. The first proposal, and perhaps the best, was that of Heath (in 1765), for *runaway's* to read *Rumour's*. Between *Rumour's eyes* in line 6, and *untalk'd of and unseen* in the next line, there would be a natural and perfect correspondence. Mason (in 1785) suggested *Renomy's* (from French *renommée*), which gives the same meaning as Heath's conjecture. Little different is *rumourers'* proposed by Singer. Hudson adopts *Rumour's*, partly under the influence of Grant White, who (in 1854) had argued ingeniously and forcibly in support of this reading; but in his edition of the drama (1861), Mr. White has preferred *runaway's*, to which he would give Warburton's explanation. Zachary Jackson, a

practical printer, conjectured *unawares*, and was followed by Knight, Collier, and Verplanck. But Knight in his second edition has gone back to *runaways*; and Collier in his second edition adopts the reading *enemies'* from his famous manuscript corrector. To this last reading the German critic Mommsen gives his adhesion. Other suggestions are the *rude day's* or *soon day's*, or *roving* of Dyce, the *sun away* of Knight, with nearly a dozen more, which need not be mentioned here. All these opinions are presented in the language of their supporters. The discussion, as a whole, is spirited and entertaining; and, what is more, it furnishes a highly instructive specimen of the principles and processes of textual criticism. As to the result of all, it seems to be a negative one, that it is hardly possible to find an explanation for the word *runaway's* which will give general satisfaction, and hardly possible to find a conjectural emendation which will commend itself as probable to the majority of critics.

The Appendix contains also an extensive collection of discussions and remarks on the source of the plot, the date of the play, the text (with reference chiefly to the relation between the form it had in the first quarto and that which it afterwards received), the costume of the persons represented, and, finally, on the æsthetic character and value of the drama. Under the last head, the writers of France and Germany are represented with especial fulness. French criticism speaks here through Châteaubriand, Saint-Marc Girardin, Philarette Chasles, Guizot, Albert Lacroix, Alfred Mézières, Lamartine, and Taine: German criticism, through Lessing, Goethe, Franz Horn, Tieck, Ulrici, Rötischer, Gervinus, Vehse, Kreyszig, Strüter, Rümelin, Bodenstedt, and Cohn. This series of foreign critiques is exceedingly interesting, though it shows, of necessity, a great deal of repetition. What is most striking in it is the universal recognition of Shakespeare's poetic supremacy; the more striking, as in the French critics it is generally a somewhat unwilling recognition. They cannot thoroughly enjoy Shakespeare; his disregard of logical correctness and propriety, his frequent grotesqueness of fancy and coarseness of expression, the quibbles and conceits in which he often indulges—these things, and many more, are offences to their sensitive and exacting taste. Yet they cannot escape from his transcendent power. They are compelled to recognize his marvellous insight into human feeling and character, and the prodigious force and truth with which he portrays them, and to render him their unequivocal, though half-reluctant, homage.

The volume is dedicated to the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia, from which association the editor seems to have derived inspiration and encouragement for his task. That this society has done thorough work in the study of the poet is shown by a note of Professor Allen's, inserted in the Appendix. It relates to certain phonetic contractions in the text of Shakespeare, such as *or'* for *or are*, *near'* for *nearer*, *in'* for *in an*, *but'* for *but the*, etc., and shows much ingenuity as well as careful observation.

As to paper and printing, the book is got up in admirable style. The only complaint one could think of making would be that it is, perhaps, too handsome; the completed work must bear a price which many students of Shakespeare will find it hard to pay. But the completed work will be a library in itself; the owner will be relieved from the purchase of many costly books which he might otherwise find it necessary to procure. We believe, however, that the demand for the work will be such as to make it worth while for the publishers to reproduce it in a cheaper form.

#### OUR GIRLS.\*

"VOULEZ-VOUS rendre chacun à ses premiers devoirs? Commencez par les mères; vous serez étonné des changements que vous produirez. . . . Mais que les mères daignent nourrir leurs enfants, les mœurs vont se reformer d'elles-mêmes, les sentiments de la nature se réveiller dans tous les cœurs; l'État va se repeupler: ce premier point, ce point seul va tout réunir. Qu'une fois les femmes redeviennent mères, bientôt les hommes redeviendront pères et maris. Discours superflus! l'ennui même des plaisirs du monde ne ramène jamais à ceux-là. Les femmes ont cessé d'être mères; elles ne le seront plus; elles ne veulent plus l'être." A hundred years ago, Jean Jacques, in his sentimental wisdom, struck the note whereon ever since the changes have been rung, and it is curious to notice how steadily we have been repeating ourselves since the day when the philosopher desperately cried that all his novel theories, his eloquent attacks and warnings, were but "superfluous discourse." It is a little discouraging to find that the natural duties of mother and wife are nearly as distasteful in the America of 1870 as they were in the France of the previous century; that feminine tastes run as persistently in the direction

\* "Our Girls. By Dio Lewis, M.D." Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1871.



of high-heeled shoes and small waists now as then; in short, that while individual women have held their own, and made quiet advance, the bulk of the sex are pretty much what they were in the Garden of Eden. It looks as if we had a problem on our hands whose solution nobody but Mr. Darwin can offer, and he, alas! does not condescend to tell us how long we have to wait before the female brain shall become capable of evolving correct thought on the subject of self-culture. We fancy we could settle comfortably to our work, if somebody would demonstrate to us that, as it took a certain appreciable term of time for the pointed ears of the Lemuridae to fold themselves into the pretty waxen shells wherein young ladies hang painful ornaments, so there is some definite period within which the brain-cells of the same young ladies will lose their extreme susceptibility to the flash of diamonds and the excitement of artificial distractions. But to wait for changes which can only come as a result of structural growth, demands a passive faith which would procrastinate all attempts at reform, and it is only fair to acknowledge that such books as this of Dr. Lewis do, in some dim way, suggest the cure for the evils which they attack.

In reading "Our Girls" and similar publications, one is throughout impressed with the fact that, while the education of girls is deplorably bad, and the education of boys not much better, there is a specific difference between the systems adopted for the two sexes—a difference based on an imperfectly appreciated truth. The sins of male youth are principally those of nature, arising, in nine cases out of ten, from a superfluity of unregulated life, while it is worth noticing that the feminine vices, against which Dr. Lewis and his forerunners and followers wage war, are every one of them of artificial origin. Not to go into the vexed question of the relative morality of the sexes, it is evident, if one takes the word of tutors and governors, that while Tom and John have most to fear from their own passions and weakness, their sisters find their worst enemy in a false social system. A boy is irrepressible; he grows in spite of you; the mere fact of his superior physical strength saves him from half the dangers that beset a girl's path. He may use bad language and bad liquor, but he will never fall a victim to tight lacing and décolleté dress, and his follies are, on the whole, more of his own seeking, and not so much the result of the misapplied force of other people's opinions. There is a strong and general impression that the mistakes in the education of women are capable of speedy cure, if only the right course of treatment can be hit upon, and it is this which ensures eager reception to the theories and systems that have crowded upon each other's heels for the last half-century. We all know in our hearts that human nature must undergo a radical change before the temperance reform will amount to more than a superficial agitation; we know that no act of Parliament or Congress can do away with the animalism of humanity; we confess with weary impatience that certain sins we shall rid ourselves of only by the slow process of growth; but with follies which belong only to a class and a time is another matter. Women may have to answer for all that Rousseau puts upon them—upon their action may hang the good of society at large—but they can justly recriminate, and declare with privileged directness of retort, that society has done quite as much harm to them as they have done to society. And here it is that the signs are hopeful, for the class of literature of which Dr. Lewis's book is a representative exhibits the intention of society to take up the matter in earnest, and to train its young girls with that intelligent attention to established law which has proved to be essential to the production of satisfactory race-horses and thoroughbred pigs.

Now, if we have concluded that this thing can be done, that young women are, physically and mentally, susceptible of immediate improvement, is it not worth while to give our clearest thought, our best strength, to consideration of the matter, and action therein? Dr. Lewis has undoubtedly done good service, and his heart is in his work; but the book which he offers to the public as the result of his experience is commonplace in style, faulty in arrangement, and contains more than a suspicion of quackery. While there is plenty of sound truth in it, there are also misstatements and exaggerations not to be excused even by the proverbial disagreement of doctors; and the physiological facts introduced would attain added power from a setting of correct and eloquent English, which they unfortunately lack. As a moral stimulant, it is not likely to be of much value; as a hand-book of general physiological information, or a manual of education, we have already better ones; the principal thing to be said in its favor is that it may strengthen hands for which Huxley and Herbert Spencer are as yet too heavy. The evils struck at are so familiar to most of us that they must be presented in a new light before we shall appreciate their magnitude and limitation; and while the thinking that is to be

done must be hard and logical, it must be popularized and simplified to the level of the minds on which it is to act before it can become visibly remedial. On the highest plane of thought, we have in this generation produced much that bears directly and practically upon the education question, but the books in which this is embodied do not come within the range of the people who need them most. The *sallow élégante* on Fifth Avenue and the dyspeptic New England girl are not likely to be greatly benefited by the reports of German gymnasia or the closely written argument of an Oxford professor, and "Our Girls" and analogous works seem only to show the width of the gap which is waiting to be spanned. "The method of nature is the archetype of all methods," says M. Marcel, and on that point at least we have reached the unanimity of the wise; who now will make clear to us the workings of that nature upon which all our progress depends?

If the best of our American scientific men, who know the needs and the power of our American girls, could be brought to feel that this is too important a subject to be left to second-rate theorists or even to honest, unpractised enthusiasts, we might then hope for the production of a literature which should give vital assistance and wake up the whole nation to a sense of the value of a woman's life. There are few women in any station of life who are not conscious of their own warped natures and failure of development, and who are not willing to try a new path; but the leading and the teaching must come from the heights. "Our Girls" must look beyond behavior books and moral tales and empirical treatises for the help they need; learned professors must study the aching spines of their living daughters instead of the backbones of extinct fishes, and clergymen, wise in spiritual things, must condescend to teach lessons of practical duty to the little women of their flocks, before we shall get the change that we look for. Our educational machinery is confessedly at fault; we get a fair article of raw material, and return it to the market in the shape of Flora McFlimseys—a process of manufacture which we are gradually finding to be unremunerative.

"How to live?"—that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only; but in the widest sense. The general problem which comprehends every special problem is—the right ruling of conduct in all directions, under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilize all these sources of happiness which nature supplies—how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others; how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course, is to judge in what degree it discharges such function."

The application of this test to our existing systems tells the whole story: our young women are *not* prepared for complete living; and if our only way out of our difficulty lies in following nature, it must be the men who know her best who must set the fashion for us. Until they are willing to write and speak for the enlightenment of the masses, bringing the leaven of scientific truth into our daily lives, the improvements in practical training will be uncertain and spasmodic, and we can only hope that the discussion will be immediately taken up in this country by men and women who can speak with authority and command general attention.

*Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris.* Reprinted from the London *Daily News*, with several New Letters and Preface. (New York: Harper Brothers. 1871.)—A likeness, with a name under it on the cover, divulges the secret that the besieged English correspondent—by the bye, one of the *Tribune's* apocryphal "own"—was no less a personage than H. Labouchère, M.P.; and the perusal of a few letters makes it clear, which is far more important, that the writer is a man of excellent good sense and exquisite humor, a sympathetic yet unbiassed observer, and a racy delineator of things observed. His facilities as an observer were ample, and he bravely availed himself of them, little disturbed by the smell of battle snuffed from afar, the whizz of shells in the air, or the more threatening swagger of spy-hunting restaurant patriots. His day in Paris—at the height of the siege, yet before the bombardment—he thus describes, under date of December 18:

"In the morning the boots comes to call me. He announces the number of deaths which have taken place in the hotel [an ambulance hotel] during the night. If there are many, he is pleased, as he considers it creditable to the establishment. He then relieves his feelings by shaking his fist in the direction of Versailles, and exit growling, 'Canaille de Bismarck.' I get up. I have breakfast—horse, *café au lait*—the *lait* chalk

and water; the portion of horse about two square inches of the noble quadruped. Then I buy a dozen newspapers, and, after having read them, discover that they contain nothing new. This brings me to about eleven o'clock. Friends drop in, or I drop in on friends. We discuss how long it is to last. If friends are French, we agree that we are sublime. At one o'clock get into the circular railroad, and go to one or other of the city-gates. After a discussion with the National Guards on duty, pass through. Potter about for a couple of hours at the outposts; try with glass to make out Prussians; look at bombs bursting; creep along the trenches; and wade knee-deep in mud through the field. The Prussians, who have grown of late malevolent even towards civilians, occasionally send a ball far over one's head. They always fire too high. French soldiers are generally cooking food. They are anxious for news, and know nothing of what is going on. As a rule, they relate the episode of some *combat d'avant-poste* which took place the day before. The episodes never vary. Five P.M., get back home; talk to doctors about interesting surgical operations; then drop in upon some official to interview him about what is doing. Official usually first mysterious, then communicative, not to say loquacious, and abuses most people except himself. Seven P.M., dinner at a restaurant; conversation general; almost every one in uniform. Still the old subjects—How long will it last? Why does not Gambetta write more clearly? How sublime we are; what a fool every one else is. Food scanty but peculiar. At Voisin's to-day the bill of fare was ass, horse, and English wolf, from the Zoological Garden. A Scotchman informed me that this latter was a fox of his native land, and patriotically gorged himself with it. I tried it, and, not being a Scotchman, found it horrible, and fell back upon the patient ass. After dinner, potter on the Boulevards, under the dispiriting gloom of petroleum; go home and read a book. Twelve P.M., bed. They nail up the coffins in the room just over mine every night, and the tap, tap, tap as they drive in the nails is the pleasing music which lulls me to sleep. Now, I ask, after having endured this sort of thing day after day for three months, can I be expected to admire Geist, Germany, or Mr. Matthew Arnold? I sigh for a revolution, for a bombardment, for an assault, for anything which would give us a day's excitement."

At that date the "besieged resident" had grown rather impatient of the long confinement, and of all the mock heroism played around him, and his letters became more and more tinged with that impatience which, he tells us, infected everybody, though but few felt annoyed by the hum bug.

"I have ceased to wind up my watch for many a week," he says in a vein rather too frequently indulged in, and which at once puts us on our guard concerning the acceptance of many an expression, whether of sentiment or of fact. "I got tired of looking at it; and whether it is ten in the morning or two in the afternoon is much the same to me. Almost every one has ceased to shave; they say that a razor so near their throats would be too great a temptation. Some have married to avoid active service; others to pass the time. 'When I knew that there was an army between myself and my wife,' observed a cynic to me yesterday, 'I rejoiced; but even the society of my wife would be better than this.'"

At such moments it was quite refreshing to him, after grumbling at or caricaturing the common variations of the ridiculous in the attitude of the besieged—which they called the sublime, however—to meet with a humbug of a quite unusual kind, such as he depicts in the following about the ex-confessor of the Empress, who "began life as a German Jew," and "is now a Frenchman and a Christian bishop."

"What is this?" cried the crowd, as Monseigneur Bauer, the bishop in *partibus infidelium* of some place or other, now came riding along with his staff. He held up his two fingers, and turned his hand right and left. His pastoral blessing was, however, but a half-success. The women crossed themselves, and the men muttered 'farceurs.' The war which is now raging has produced many oddities, but none to my mind equal to this bishop. His great object is to see and be seen, and most thoroughly does he succeed in his object. He is a short, stout man, dressed in a cassock, a pair of jack-boots with large spurs, and a hat such as you would only see at the opera. On his breast he wears a huge star. Round his neck is a chain, with a great golden cross attached to it; and on his fingers, over his gloves, he wears gorgeous rings. The trappings of his horse are thickly sprinkled with Geneva crosses. By his side rides a standard-bearer, bearing aloft a flag with a red cross. Eight aids-de-camp, arrayed in a sort of purple and gold fancy uniform, follow him, and the *cortège* is closed by two grooms in unimpeachable tops. In this guise, and followed by this *état-major*, he is a conspicuous figure upon the field of battle, and produces much the same effect as the head of a circus riding into a town on a piebald horse, surrounded by clowns and pets of the ballet. He was the confessor of the Empress, and is now the *aumônier* of the press; but why he wears jack-boots, why he capers about on a fiery horse, why he has a staff of aids-de-camp, and why he has two grooms, are things which no one seems to know. He patronizes generals and admirals, doctors and commissariat officers, and they submit to be patronized by him. Half-priest, half-buffoon, something of a Friar Tuck and something of a Louis XV. abbé, he is a sort of privileged person who, by mere force of impudence, has made his way in the world."

The acting of great personages of a different kind, such as the "venerable" Blanqui, the heroic Flourens, and other leaders of the clubs, is not forgotten either; and it is one of the merits of this diary that its disconnected but continued remarks on the feelings and attitude of the revolu-

tionary classes—both high and low—afford us a tolerably clear insight into the gradual development, from its incipency, of the agitation for the Commune, which, during the siege, culminated in the insurrection of October 31, and, after it, plunged France into the most senseless of civil wars. The "besieged resident's" remarks on Trochu, Ducrot, and other defenders of Paris, as well as on the conduct of the defence in general, also deserve attention; they are, however, fragmentary in their character, reflecting the fleeting impressions of the moment, and we should wrong the author—and mostly also the men he speaks of, for the remarks are rarely flattering—were we to reproduce them here, detached and in a broken form, as expressions of a more or less definite historical opinion. For these, as well as a multitude of other interesting or amusing observations, we must refer the reader to the book itself. We cannot refrain, however, from stating here the principal conclusions the writer was led to by the constant contemplation of Parisian political folly and conceit during that momentous period. It is this:

"If the thirty-eight million Frenchmen outside Paris are such fools as to allow themselves to be ruled by the two million amiable, ignorant, bragging humbugs who are within it, France will most deservedly cease to be a power of Europe. If this country is to recover from the ruin in which it is overwhelmed, it is absolutely essential that Paris should cease to be its political capital, and that the Parisians should not have a greater share in moulding its future policy than they are numerically entitled to."

*Rome and the Campagna.* An Historical and Topographical Description of Ancient Rome. With 85 illustrations and 25 maps and plans. By Robert Burn, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: Bell & Daldy. 1871.)—This is a quarto of about 500 pages, and a valuable book. It is a careful and conscientious account of the remains of ancient Rome, giving the latest results of historical and topographical criticism and research. The maps and plans, twenty-five in number, are particularly valuable, giving the old buildings and the modern streets on the same plate, one over the other, in different colors; and of the Forum and parts adjacent. Separate plans are given for the time of the Republic and of the Empire. The woodcut illustrations from photographs are extremely accurate and well executed. The list of books quoted, Index of Quotations, Chronological Table of the Principal Buildings in Rome and the Campagna, and the Complete General Index, add greatly to its value. A complete collection of the one hundred and thirty-eight "Books on Roman Topography and Archaeology," quoted by Mr. Burn, would be an invaluable contribution to the proposed library of our Metropolitan Museum of Art.

*Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D.,* Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. By M. A. De Wolfe Howe, D.D. (Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1871.)—Bishop Potter was a student of good classical and scholastic attainments, a preacher of sound and edifying manners, a philanthropic and public-spirited citizen, a churchman whose zeal was tempered with discretion, a bishop of practical wisdom, sincere piety, and a catholic spirit, and a light-toned Christian gentleman. These qualities appear in the memoirs and correspondence embodied in this volume, and were worthy of such preservation, though his life was marked by no special achievements in literature, theology, or reform, and by no extraordinary incidents or events. For the general public, and as a contribution to the history of the church, the volume would bear compression; but to the clergy of his diocese, and the wide circle of his personal friends, it will be the more acceptable because of the minuteness of its details and the unvarying eulogy of its tone.

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